CHAPTER V.

KRISHNARĀJA WODEYAR II, 1734-1766—(*contd.*)

The European Nations in India : The Portuguese—The Dutch —The Danes—The English—The French—The evolution of their Indian policy : (*a*) down to 1746—(*b*) 1746-1758—Its repercussions on the south of India, with special reference to Mysore.

AS INDICATED in the previous chapter, events were happening about this time—*Circa* 1748—which brought to the forefront certain foreign nations who had settled at different intervals of time since 1500 A.D. at various points on the Eastern and Western seaboards of India. Chief among these were the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Danes, the French and the English. The Portuguese were the first modern European nation to found a settlement in India. Vasco da Gama landed at Calicut on 22nd August 1498. Cabral established a factory at Calicut in 1500 and took Goa in 1506 and plundered and burnt in 1510 Calicut, ill-requiting the hospitality he had received at the hands of the Zāmorin. Through the aid of fire-arms, which the Portuguese were the first to introduce into India, they overcame Indian opposition with ease. Within a century of their arrival, they explored the Indian Ocean as far as Japan and established footholds at Mangalore, Cochin, Ceylon, Diu, Goa and Negapatam. Their object was trade and they were content when they secured it. For nearly a century, they monopolised the whole of the profitable trade of the Indian seas and they astonished Europe with the colossal fortunes they amassed. But they were violent in their methods, ungrateful towards their benefactors, indulged

The European nations in India.

The Portuguese.

in slave trade which encouraged traffic in children, intolerent in religious matters and unconcerned in the welfare of the people amidst whom they settled. They maintained their political power by fanning the mutual jealousies and enmities they found existing between the local potentates. Their cupidity proved their destruction. "The Portuguese," wrote Alfonzo De Souza, their Governor, in 1545, "entered India with the sword in one hand and the crucifix in the other; finding much gold, they laid aside the crucifix to fill their pockets, and not being able to hold them up with one hand—they were grown so heavy, they dropped the sword, too; being found in this posture by those who came after, they were easily overcome." Apart from the evil effects that the growth of wealth and luxury produced on them, their fall was hastened first by the destruction of Vijayanagar, with which they had built up a lucrative trade in horses, and then by the gradual decay of that Empire after the death of Venkaṭa I (1586-1614), who was the last sovereign of that dynasty to befriend them. When, in 1608, the Dutch secured a footing at Devanapaṭṇam (Cuddalore), Venkaṭa promptly intervened on behalf of the Portuguese and barred their further progress there, saying that the Portuguese were "better friends than the Dutch." More conciliatory in their methods and better supported by their home government, the Dutch, however, succeeded in supplanting the Portuguese in the Eastern seas, taking their colonies and burning their ships. But their glory was short-lived. The siege and capture of their settlement at Hugli in 1632 under Shāh Jahān's orders may be reckoned to have sealed the fate of the Portuguese in India. By about the end of Aurangzīb's reign, they cease to be a factor in the history of India.[1]

1. Their only possessions to-day in India are Goa, Diu and Dāman, all of them situate on the west coast of India. Of these, Goa is 250 miles

The Dutch.

The Portuguese thus fell before the Dutch. The Dutch first occupied various places in the Eastern Archipelago, where they were firmly settled about 1598. They then founded settlements on the Eastern Coast of Southern India, from the beginning of the 17th century. They first pitched upon Pulicat, then the head-quarters of a Vijayanagar governor and a great entrepôt of trade. They obtained a *cowle* to settle there in 1606, about which time Portuguese influence declined at the court of Venkaṭa I. The advantage of this settlement will be apparent when it is remembered that its sea-borne commerce was mainly with the Straits Settlements, in which the Dutch were already interested. They next opened settlements at Sadras, Palcole, Cuddalore and other places on the East Coast and one at Sūrat on the West Coast, in 1616. They had also factories at Agra, Patna and Ahmadabad. They also established themselves at Chinsurah and Hugli in 1675. The Dutch were essentially a nation of traders, more so than even the English. They prospered so long as they stuck to their commercial pursuits. They met their fate when they tried to meddle in the politics of the country. This came about after nearly a century of quiet trade in this land. Shortly after the great

S.S.E. of Bombay. Taken by Albuquerque in 1510, it reached its height of prosperity by the end of the 16th century. It was deserted in 1759 and left to the decay in which it has since lain. Its buildings are in ruins, their sites are covered with cocoanut plantations and the streets overrun with grass. The new capital is Nova Goa (or Panjim), nearer the sea, on the Mandavi, 3 miles from its mouth. Diu is a seaport, 180 miles north-west of Bombay, off the south coast of Kathiawar. Once a city of 50,000 souls, it has sunk in importance now, it possessing not more than 15,000 inhabitants, mostly fishermen. It has been in Portuguese hands since 1535 and stood a famous siege in 1545. Dāman is a port in the province of Guzerat, on the Gulf of Cambay, 100 miles north of Bombay. It has magnificent teak forests included in the *pargaṇa* of Nagar-Havili. The port stands at the mouth of Dāman-Gangā, a deep and navigable stream, with a bar at its mouth. Dāman has been in Portuguese hands since 1558.

victory that the English won at Plassey under Clive (1756), the Dutch endeavoured to help Mīr Jāfar, the Nawāb of Bengal. Mīr Jāfar chafed under the control of his new masters and secretly induced the Dutch at Chinsurah to help him with troops. They landed troops from Batavia and raised more locally and picked up a quarrel with the English at Calcutta. Though England and Holland were at peace then, Clive resolved upon immediate action. Colonel Forde and Captain Wilson attacked the Dutch by land and sea, and defeated them. The decisive battle was fought at Biderra between Chandranagore and Chinsurah on 29th November 1759, and the Dutch were utterly routed. With this, the Dutch disappear from the Indian political field.

The Danes.

The Danish East India Company was formed in 1616. They first established themselves at Tranquebar in 1619 with the goodwill of Raghunātha Nāyaka, the ruler of Tanjore. Fifty-six years later, in 1675, the Danes settled at Serampore, near Calcutta. The Governor's first residence was a mud hut and he had neither horse, foot, nor guns to protect him. A factory was built at Serampore in 1755, the Danish flag being hoisted on it on October 8 of that year. During the American War, Serampore saw the hey-day of its existence. Having restricted themselves entirely to trade, the Danes never came into any conflict with the country powers. Twice taken by the English in 1801 and 1808, the Danes sold their settlements to the British Government in 1845 for a monetary consideration of Rs. 12 lakhs. The Danish East India Company ceased to exist about 1815.

The English.

The English founded a settlement at Masulipaṭam in 1607; at Pettapoli (Peddapalli), now called Nizāmpaṭam, in 1611; and in 1616, they opened factories at Calicut and Cranganore, on the West Coast, with the permission

of the Zāmorin. Three years later, in 1619, they obtained a footing at Pulicat as well, by the side of the Dutch, and for some time traded on joint account with them. Before then, they had opened a factory at Sūrat in 1612, and in the year following at Gogra, Ahmadabad, Cambay and Ajmere, all these being connected with Sūrat. Mughal countenance was sought to be obtained by the despatch of embassies. Though Hawkins failed in 1609, Sir Thomas Roe was more successful. His stay of three years at the Mughal Court ended, in 1618, in the grant of a *firman* by Shāh Jahān for the factory at Sūrat and Jahāngīr's general *firman*. In 1620, factories were set up at Agra and Patna. The mutual jealousies of these European nations were such that each tried to outbeat the other for securing the Eastern trade to itself. Thus, the Portuguese attacked the English in 1620 but were defeated by Captain Shillingel and, in 1622, the English joined the Persians in attacking the Portuguese, from whom they took Ormuz. In the following year, Dutch jealousies ended in the massacre of the English at Amboyna for an alleged conspiracy to take possession of the castle there (27th February 1623). As a result of this unhappy incident, the English at Bantam—which had been erected into a Presidency in 1618—suggested the expediency of concentrating their attention on the trade of the Coromandel Coast. Accordingly, in 1626, a factory was established at Armagon, 70 miles north of Madras. But this did not prove successful and a settlement was made at Madras in 1639. Meanwhile, in 1634, Shāh Jahān, contemporaneously with the expulsion of the Portuguese, granted a *firman* by which the trade of the whole of Bengal was opened to the English. A factory was established at Pippli, near the mouths of the Hugli, and in 1644 at Hugli itself. Bombay was secured in 1688, the Company purchasing it from King Charles II, to

whom it had been presented in 1661 by the Portuguese as a dowry of his queen Catherine of Braganza. The English restricted themselves to trade for nearly a century from their establishment at Madras and Hugli. It was only about 1748 that they began to enter the political arena in India.

The French.

The French made unsuccessful attempts to trade with the East about 1537. In 1615, they obtained a charter extending the monopoly of the French to trade in India during a period of 12 years. They first established themselves at Sūrat, but soon left it capturing Trincomalee from the Dutch. Driven from thence, in 1672 they took San Thomé, near Madras, from the Dutch, but lost it again, two years later, to the same nation. Meanwhile, in 1672, they had obtained on lease a place called Pullicherry, near Cuddalore, and a few French merchants had located themselves there. On the loss of San Thomé, Francois Martin, an officer of this factory, moved on with some sixty of his countrymen and established himself at Pullicherry in 1674 and began to erect fortifications in it. This place later became known as Pondicherry.[2] About the same time, in 1673, Chandranagore was occupied. It was largely developed by Dupleix while its Governor. On the death of Martin in 1706, he was succeeded by one Lenoir, who walked in his predecessor's footsteps. M. Dumas took over from him and converted Pondicherry into an attractive place to those who visited it. He it was that made friends with Dōst Alī, the then Nawāb of Arcot, and Chandā Sāhib, his son-in-law, and inspired confidence

2. "Pullicherry" later became "Pondicherry." The Muhammadans still pronounce it as "Pullicheri." The name "Pullicheri" occurs frequently in the Madras Consultation Books. It was evidently an insignificant village inhabited by Pallis, an agricultural community tracing their descent from the Agnikulas of Purāṇic tradition, with a few fishermen's huts and a shrine dedicated to Gaṇapati, which still stands in the present town.

in French power and state-craft. He may be said to have been the first to conceive of a French Empire in India. His policy was, in its essence, to use Indians themselves to subdue their country for France. He strengthened the fortifications of Pondicherry; raised a force of 12,000 Europeans; and a force of 5,000 Indians whom he armed and drilled in the European manner, thus bringing into existence the first sepoy corps known to India. But for the active aid he gave Dōst Alī and Chandā Sāhib, the Mahrattas would have occupied the Karnāṭak. Already a terror to the Mughal Emperor at Delhi, they would have become equally a terror to the Nawāb of Arcot and the foreign settlers in the South. Dumas, however, by the timely help he rendered to Dōst Alī, averted this possible contingency. The Mughal Emperor, in recognition of this service, conferred the title of "Nawab" on Dumas and the command of 2,000 horsemen as a guard. Dumas was also officially made an officer of the Mughal Empire. It is recognition of this sort that enabled the foreign settlers in later days to successfully claim neutrality as between contending parties, while all the while they were helping one side or the other with men or money and not infrequently with both. Dumas was succeeded in October 1741 by Joseph Francis Dupleix,[3] a merchant who rose eventually to the dignity of Marquis and who, if his countrymen had favoured, would have made France supreme in India. He grasped the cardinal points in the policy of Dumas and gave tangible effect to them. He was not only an ambitious man but also a talented politician, with an inborn genius for leadership. How he befriended first Anwar-ud-dīn and then Chandā Sāhib, his rival; how he then was joined by Muzaffar Jang, the rival of Nāsir Jang in the Subādārship of the Deccan; how he had

3. Joseph Dupleix: 1697-1763. Governor of Chandranagore and then of Pondicherry (1741-1754, when he was recalled to France).

Nāsir Jang assassinated; how he next got proclaimed Muzaffar Jang Subādār of the Deccan and Chandā Sāhib Nawāb of the Karnāṭak; how he tried to take Trichinopoly into which Muhammad Alī, son of Anwar-un-dīn, had thrown himself; and how in doing so he sought to befriend Mysore by promising Trichinopoly to her[4]—show his capacity as much for diplomacy as for organization. But he failed and with him all idea of a French Empire in India vanished for ever. The French Company—*Compagine de Indes*—came to an end in 1769 and to-day Pondicherry, Chandranagore, Māhe, Karaikal and Yanon are the only possessions left for France in India.

The evolution of their Indian policy: (*a*) down to 1746.

Though the European companies trading in the East were organized as peaceful commercial concerns, from the beginning they so built their factories that they could be secure from attacks, both from the local powers and from each other. Their proprietors as traders refused to countenance expenditure on fortifications. But trade cannot flourish without security. Some of the settlements were accordingly even fortified. The Dutch set the example. Thus Armagon was fortified, it being the first fortified settlement held by the English in India. It mounted 12 guns. "Dansborg" at Tranquebar was a rudimentary fortress in charge of 20 men and a few cannons. Fort St. George at Madras, though comparatively a small place when first erected, was likewise fortified. Pondicherry as first built was similarly fortified with three round towers and a bastion, the whole armed with thirty-two guns. When Martin rebuilt the settlement in 1701, he erected a regular fort in it called Fort Louis, which was a perfect pentagon in form with five bastions at the five angles.[5] But

4. *Vide* Ch. VI below.

5. It was finished in 1706. See M. Julien Vinson, *Les Francais dans l' Inde* (Lerouse, Paris, 1894); also Forrest, *Cities of India*, p. 330. It

fortifying their factories did not mean militarising their establishment any more than the fighting they occasionally indulged in to defend their settlements against a wandering Nawāb or an unfriendly Pāḷegār could be termed as war. Both by instinct and interest, the first European settlers desired peace. The local powers would not permit them to be anything other than traders, and their own superiors in their homelands did not allow them to invest their funds on the maintenance of an army or add to the expenditure on fortifications. In this, as in other matters, the English, who eventually displaced the Dutch everywhere in the South as the Dutch did the Portuguese in their own time, took a leaf out of the books of the Dutch. The Dutch as a commercial nation did not encourage any kind of warfare. They kept to the counter, the weighing scales and the measuring yard. A Josiah Child, who in 1686 declared war against Aurangzīb and sent out an expedition to take Chittagong, was an exception that proved the rule. The character of the make up of that expedition indubitably shows how much city men in those days distrusted professional soldiers. The expedition consisted of six hundred soldiers and they were sent under the command of subalterns! The Company sent out instructions that the captains and other superior officers should be supplied from the civil servants in India. It is no wonder that the expedition failed, there being no trained officers to command the men. But it was characteristic of the times that the Company did not think it safe to have soldiers by profession in any post higher than that of lieutenant. In this they followed the Dutch whose

was called Fort Louis evidently after Saint Louis to whom the Capuchin Chapel in the settlement was dedicated under the guidance of Father Louis, its builder. The French King and Crusader, St. Louis, who died at Carthage in 1270, is the name-father of the Byrsa Hill in that ancient city, now a suburb of Tunis. He is Louis IX of French History and was canonised by Boniface VII in 1297.

policy in most matters the English had been imitating. "We observe," wrote the Court of Directors to their Agent and Council at Madras on 28th September 1687, "in the book containing the Dutch methods, sent to us by Mr. Yale, not much more than what some of us understood before of their affairs; but, as there appears in this great wisdom, and policy, so since that time they have much bettered their constitutions, and refined their politics, and created many kinds of incomes, to increase their revenues, which they thought not of when these papers were first digested, some thirty years since. However, we recommend to you the frequent reading and consideration of what is contained in these papers, which the oftener you read, the more you will discover the wisdom of those persons who discovered those methods." Such admiration could not but lead to direct imitation. In keeping strictly to trade and avoiding warfare and collisions of every kind with the country powers, the English thus were admonished to follow the Dutch example. Similarly in regard to keeping the military—even in the restricted cases in which they had to act on the defensive when attacked—they were for following the Dutch "method" as the Directors termed it. "Their (the Dutch) having all lieutenants," the Directors remarked, "in their garrisons to command their companies, and a major without a company to command under their governor, we may imitate in due time; but think it not proper at present, until your civil power be as well established and obeyed at Fort St. George, as theirs is at Batavia." They thus were not only for "imitating" the Dutch in this matter but also like the Dutch, desired to see that the "civil power" was "well established" before they thought of seeking to be a military power. The fact of the matter is that the Directors were essentially commercial men and they were averse to allowing their agents in India developing a taste for

military adventures. Not only this. Their attitude was in keeping with their national spirit. Ever since the days of Cromwell's Protectorate, the English people have abhorred a standing army, and have treated trained soldiers as a menace to the State. The City of London was primarily Parliamentarian and Puritan in character and it disliked the fall in public life that followed the Protectorate, more especially as affecting the military. The merchants of London who traded with the East were naturally no friends to a profession which they looked on as inimical to liberty, to religion and to trade. When they could not avoid having soldiers of their own, they were determined on having as few of them as possible and to keep these few as much as possible in their own hands. It could not be said that they were not justified in this view. The men who in those days agreed to go to India were, for the most part, undoubted adventurers. And these were, once they reached India, open to the worst temptations. Thus, in 1694, one Dr. Blackwell was suspected to have agreed to betray Fort St. David, Cuddalore, to a country power if he was enabled to carve out for himself an independent Governorship. Similarly, in 1761, a Captain Carlson, commanding at Chittapet (Chetput), went over with his forces to Haidar Alī. If there was thus reason on the side of the Directors in keeping the rise of military spirit in check, the circumstances in India were such that but for such a policy on the part of the Directors, their agents in India would have pursued a course which would have, at least in the initial stages when they were still essentially traders, ended in entanglements for them with the local country powers, from which there would have been no escape. As it was, the English in India—especially in the Madras region—were compelled to deviate from the strict injunctions of their masters. The immediate events that made them do this was the turn

that affairs took in Madras about the year 1744, when Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar II had been on the throne for just ten years. The first of these events was the breaking out of war between England and France in that year, a war that had its repercussions on India. Though the English had been established at Madras[6] for nearly a hundred years by then, they had not taken any steps to protect themselves against possible attack from the French at Pondicherry. On the other hand, they applied to the Nawāb of Arcot to keep the peace within the territories subordinate to him. The French at Pondicherry—a well-fortified place between 1706 and 1741—addressed the self-same Nawāb to keep away from any such self-imposed task. The result was the French besieged Fort St. George and took it. This happened in September 1746.

(b) 1746-1758.

The English at Madras were compelled to move down South to Fort St. David, from where they carried on their trade. They felt keenly the loss of their chief settlement and at once began to raise troops, and that may be justly said to be the beginnings of the Madras Army. The troops they raised were European cavalry, artillery, and infantry and Indian infantry. The first Indian cavalry were raised in 1784, and Indian artillery (as a separate corps) in 1805.[7] The European cavalry never rose—partly on account of the expense involved and partly because of the opposition of the Nawāb whose main arm was cavalry—above the strength of a squadron, and even these were not maintained for more than a few years. The first sepoy levies were poor in discipline and poorer

6. Fort St. George at Madras was founded in 1639; it was captured by the French in 1746.

7. See W. J. Wilson, *History of the Madras Army* (1882), Vols. I to IV; P. J. Begbie, *History of the Services of the Madras Artillery* (1852); *Historical Record of the E. I. Co.'s First Madras European Regiment* (1843).

in equipment. They were armed with matchlocks, bows and arrows, spears, swords, bucklers, daggers, or other similar weapons they could get hold of. They were bodies of various strength, each under the command of its own chief, who received the pay of the whole body and disbursed it to the men. Not infrequently these chiefs owned the arms carried by the men and recovered from each man a small sum for the use of the weapons. The system worked well, as the salary was regularly paid and dismissal was felt to be a real punishment. Despite the fact that the French had succeeded in training Indians for military service and had found them amenable to discipline, the English at Madras for a time—between 1746-1758—neglected them and preferred any other material they could recruit. Thus it is that we find in the earliest period of the history of the Madras Army all kinds of nationalities enlisted in it. Thus there were European adventurers of all nations, the refuse of their respective nations; Topasses and Coffres;[8] Arabs, Rajputs and Hindustānis from Bombay; and slaves imported from Madagascar. A change was necessitated in 1758, when the Madras troops were all absent in Bengal, and the fear of a war against the French made them resolve to recruit people in the South of India, with what results the history of the Madras sepoy has proved to perfection. That was no doubt due to improvement in equipment and discipline, and to better pay and better officering; but it must be held that the material itself was good and that it needed but capable handling and shaping.

Its repercussions on the south of India, with special reference to Mysore.

These changes in the outlook of the English at Madras brought on by the vicissitudes of time, made them enter into the politics of the country powers and make alliances with them whether they liked it or not. It

8. *Coffres*: Negroes who were brought to India from the Cape, Guinea, or Madagascar.

was during the reign of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar II in Mysore (1734-1766) that these changes occurred and the fact that it is so is specially worthy of note. Mysore as the State nearest to Madras came into contact with it at the very beginning of her troubles with her neighbours. It could not avoid doing so because of its past, a past which was full of connections with the South, with Madura, Diṇḍigal and Trichinopoly. It was a period too of trouble everywhere in the South. The Nizām claimed the South as the representative of the Mughal Emperor; his sons and grandsons disputed the overlordship as between themselves; the two foreign nations, the French and the English, by reason of their national propensities and interests, took opposite sides in these disputed successions; and each of these nations had great men on their sides. Dupleix and Bussy on the one side; Saunders, who has not yet come into his own, Clive (who was discovered by Saunders) and Lawrence on the other, are names which have become famous in Indian History. All these belong to this period. In Mysore itself, while the reigning king was a minor, his ministers and generals were men who had been brought up in the traditions of the past and aimed at the subjection of the whole of the South of India to Mysore, a tradition which was later unquestioningly accepted by Haidar, who even improved on it. They were not to blame for this, for, since the break-up of the Vijayanagar Empire, South India knew only Mysore as an organized kingdom with a conscious aim and will of her own; with an objective which made an irresistible appeal; and with a power which could help to carry it through. Mysore had a claim too for being the leader in reconstructing life and polity in the South, as her connection with the Vijayanagar kingdom had been continuous and unbroken since the middle of the 14th century. Sanctified by age-long association, her claim to supremacy over the South seemed

incontrovertible. Nor were the older disputants in a position to make a bold stand against her during the period of Krishṇarāja's reign. The Nāyaka of Madura had broken down in his power and prestige. The Nāyaka of Ikkēri was not interested in the South. Sōmaśēkhara Nāyaka II, who held sway between 1715-1739, was engrossed in extending his kingdom nearer home. His son and successor Basappa Nāyaka II (1739-1754) was murdered and his adoptive mother Vīrammāji was insecure in her seat and fell an easy prey to Haidar in 1763, three years before the close of the reign of Krishṇarāja II. Then, as regards the Mahrattas, Bāji Rao I, who died in 1740, had been succeeded by Bālāji Bāji Rao, the third Pēshwa. Though in 1741 Siddōji-Ghōrpaḍe took Trichinopoly, Murāri Rao-Ghōrpaḍe, who was put in charge of it, vacated it in 1743. By 1750, Bālāji Bāji Rao had consolidated his authority, made Poona his capital and had become the head of the Mahratta Confederacy. But his ambitions were centred northwards. He occupied the Punjab in 1758 and renewed the invasion of Upper India in 1760 to achieve supremacy over the North. The Mahratta power had by then reached its zenith. Sadāśiva Rao Bhao, who was guiding its affairs, had an organized and well-paid army, with a large train of artillery; but he failed at Pāṇipat in 1761. This ambition northwards left the South to take care of itself for the time being, and it was during the interval covered by the period 1752-1755, that Karāchūri Nanjarājaiya, the Daḷavāi of Krishṇarāja II, made the bold attempt at securing Trichinopoly for Mysore by any means open to him.[9] If Murāri Rao, the Mahratta representative, had behaved as he should have done and kept his word, and if the king of Tanjore had not turned hostile, the Hindu cause in the South would have fared better and the history of India during this momentous period would have proved different.

9. *Vide* Chs. VII-VIII below.